/105 cont./

513 But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests or the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

833 Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrains the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administrator of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

/106 cont./

833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [593] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

595 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or
833 women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

/107 cont./

595 833 is clear proof of his manliness, that it gives him greater physical strength and better development of his masculine functions, a very important aspect this as it corresponds to the Guajiro ideal of a man.

When special circumstances force him to be absent from his women for more than three days, it is not rare that he will suddenly abandon his work, and although he may have to walk a long distance or make big sacrifices, he will go off to his favorite wife. She, knowing that the man wants her and that she has been chosen from among all the others to satisfy him, does her utmost to please him and thus once again assure her superior position over the other co-wives and eliminate them from her husband's life in a permanent and hidden struggle against polygamy.

833 The biological act in married couples has no formal limits, but when it is a matter of illicit relations the woman does not permit any deviation from the normal, going as far as not to permit the man seeing her body as she considers that by doing so she becomes a toy or plaything, a mere instrument of pleasure, like an animal, shameless and without any sense of dignity. For this reason she keeps still and absolutely quiet as she does not want the man in one of his frequent drunken sprees to hold her up to ridicule. Also because /she thinks doing otherwise might cause him to/ classify her as one of the slaves who cannot in view of their status offer any resistance to the demands of their owners.

It must be observed that if it is true that the married woman lends herself to the caprices of her husband for the reasons noted, it is also true that she feels internally both disgust and disillusion for marriage and its functions, which convert her in her opinion primarily into an object of pleasure, which puts aside or into a secondary place the other possibilities and qualities which the Guajiro woman might possess, and, as in the case of the illicit relations mentioned above, she sees herself lowered /108/ from her standing of a free woman, of a rational human being. She feels that she has

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 833 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 776 767 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such ●633 834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual [787] act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his 693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman 776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time 844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing 841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be- 843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be 834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as [595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from 262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere.

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home.

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it.

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist.

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [834] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances.

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done.

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new.

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacrifice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 787

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of illness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits. [833] [755] [153]

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body. [755]

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous 751
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 842